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Native Authority, to the Native Authority, and eventually to the District Commissioner if the case is one which he will countenance. In practice, most cases reach the chief and go no further. Most people accept his decision. Thus the chief has important judicial functions.

The Chief as his People's Representative

In special situations where the welfare of the chiefdom as a whole has been endangered by an infringement of the mores, the chief may take action. For example, a chief prosecutes a village headman who allows a woman in his village to bear her first child before she has been through the *litiwo* ceremony. Every woman who becomes pregnant for the first time must undergo this ceremony, during which she is instructed in child welfare and child care. If she bears a child without undergoing the ceremony, she is said to have 'spoilt the country' (*ajalwice cilambo*), in the sense that she has besmirched its reputation.[1]

Chiefs usually call in magicians 'to smell out' those responsible for keeping back the rain.[2] When the rains fail as they did in 1948–9, their failure is held to be due to the magic of some evilly disposed person. It then becomes the chief's duty to call in a magician to indicate who this person is. The fees for this duty are paid by the chief himself on behalf of his people.

The chief also acts as a representative of his people when they are affected as a whole. For example, Nyambi called in a magician after man-eating lions had taken some of his subjects. This magician called for the hearth-stones and domestic utensils from all the villages in the area, and built them up into a pyramid over which he made some anti-lion medicine. This was to clear the whole chiefdom of man-eating lions.

Nowadays, the chief's representation of his people is seen most clearly in his position in the Administrative framework.[3] The chief represents the Administration to his people since they approach it through him. At the same time the Administration clearly treats him as the representative of his people and consults

[1] I was told in Mponda's area that the women undergo this ceremony *after* the birth of the child, but that it is still obligatory.

[2] *Kutawa ula*—lit. 'to tie or bind the rain', in the sense of to make it a prisoner.

[3] I have dealt with this aspect more fully in 'The Political Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland'.

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Further enquiries may reveal that this is only a section of a larger village, possibly a hundred or more yards away. 622

The boundaries of a village may not always be clear. Clusters of huts which are part of one village may be physically nearer another, but in the minds of the Yao, who see not only the huts but also the social relationships of the people occupying them, there is no confusion at all. As a general rule the villages are fairly compact and clearly demarcated from others, and even strangers have no difficulty in recognizing the autonomy of the group which is expressed in many different ways. MacDonald recorded that formerly a headman performed a certain amount of ritual which symbolized the unity of the village.[1] Much of this has fallen away, but the unity remains. 621

The ritual surrounding the foundation of a new village bears testimony to its persisting political significance. In this ritual the unity of the group, against other similar groups, including the village from which it has sprung, is expressed. On first arrival at a new village site the men build grass sheds, beginning with that of the headman. That night the headman pours a cone of sacred flour at the root of a tree on the site, and asks the spirits of his ancestors whether the site is propitious. Early next morning he examines the cone to see the answer. If a side of the cone has collapsed it does not augur well and another site is selected. If the cone is still whole it is taken that the spirits acquiesce, and permanent huts can be started. The headman then goes into the bush to find medicines [2] which he mixes with groundbeans. That night, with the medicated groundbeans in the hut, the headman has intercourse with his wife. In the morning those who are not sexually active come to the headman's grass shed to drink some water in which the medicine has been steeped and eat some of the medicated beans with a little porridge, which the headman's wife has prepared from the sacred flour. This medicine is called 'the medicine to strengthen the village' (*mtera wakulimbika musi*). Until then all members of the village should have been continent but after this sexual relationships may be resumed. The object of the medicine is to prevent those 622 621 787 622 621 751 834 372

[1] See pp. 31–2.

[2] *Nkulungwitu* and *nkuta*, two plants commonly used for protection against *ndoka*. See f.n., p. 112. [824]

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villages, however, the headman's activities may be as circumscribed by ritual prohibitions as the chief's are.

The village headman is subject not only to mystical dangers but also to other dangers deriving from his position of authority. It is significant that villagers never go to a diviner to find out the cause of a village headman's death. When I asked informants why this was so, they said, 'Well, what's the use of it? He has enemies on all sides in the village who are trying to kill him with their magic.' In harmony with this view of village headmanship, the symbolic object which represents the village headman in the diviners' gourds I have seen, is a small ring of grass (*singwa*), a copy of the grass cushion women place on their heads when they are carrying loads. This symbolizes the ring of enemies which surrounds the village headman. The saying 'the tortoise defecates on the one who carries it',[1] usually applied to chieftainship, applies equally well to a village headman.

A village headman may expect little material benefit from his position of authority. If he is an Administrative village headman he may be paid a small annuity of 5*s*. or 10*s*.[2] Returning labour migrants may give him a blanket or a military overcoat, or perhaps a few shillings, but this is not usual. If he is not a strict Moslem he will almost certainly be given a pot of beer from every brewing made for sale in the local 'club house'. On the other hand, if an important stranger, particularly a White official, arrives in the village he feels he must give his guest a chicken. It is mannerly to reciprocate with another gift, but not all Whites know this, or, if they do, do not observe it. In particular if the chief comes to his village, he will be expected to entertain him and here can expect no recompense—the chief 'eats from his country'.

The Yao know that the position of headman is no sinecure. Frequently the one chosen to succeed refuses to accept the position, especially if he is well placed in employment. It is significant that the word for an heir is *litegwa*[3]—the one who is trapped. An

[1] *Ngonjo jikunyela nsyene kwajigele.*

[2] Until recently this was true. As I was leaving the field in 1949, I heard that the Administration had decided to abandon this system in favour of one in which only group headmen would be remunerated.

[3] Substantive form of the passive of the verb *kutega*—to set a trap as for animals. This word is not widely known, especially among the younger Yao.

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his mother was ill and had gone with Lupunje's younger brother to the diviner to find out the cause of the illness. The diviner indicated that Lupunje thought that Kalambo was not showing him the proper respect. Lupunje knew that his sisters had lost their value in the lineage since they had stopped bearing children, whereas Kalambo's sisters were still reproducing. His malice had caused the woman's illness. When Kalambo got home he asked his mother's brother to blow water out of his mouth [1] and help him to prepare some medicine for the sick woman. This Lupunje did and the woman recovered immediately.

Shortly afterwards Kalambo remonstrated with his mother's brother for causing the illness of his sister, but Lupunje said that he had no control over it: the spirits had brought it on her. Kalambo knew that he could do nothing and abandoned the idea of building his own village. He knew that there was bound to be more illness if he carried on with his plan.

Clearly the belief in the mystical powers of the ancestors or of sorcery is a force which prevents sections from breaking away from the village. A break follows only when opposition within the village has reached sufficient pitch to force one of the sections to take the risk of illness, rather than to continue living in the village. Sometimes the dissident group comes back because further deaths at their new village site convince them that their action was wrong.[2]

Effects of the Headman's Personality

Whether a village maintains its unity or not, depends very largely on the personality of the headman. This is why the officiating headmen and others at the installation ceremonies are so insistent that cases should be settled quickly. The main duty of a headman is to maintain harmonious relationships within his village and to see to the welfare of its members. All severe illnesses are immediately reported to him, and so are the results of all divinations. He usually sends his representative to divinations concerning kinsmen not related to him matrilineally. He is immediately notified of all deaths and he organizes the funeral rites. Squabbles are brought to him for arbitration and even where squabbles are settled by kinsmen in the village, usually the headman is formally told of them. Frequently marriage diffi-

[1] An act which recants malice. See Chap. VI, p. 139.

[2] See the case history in Chap. VI, p. 153.

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The events leading up to a split in a matrilineage usually follow a definite pattern. Very frequently indeed an accusation of sorcery is involved.[1] This usually stimulates a dissatisfied warden to gather his dependants together and to move off to found a new village. Elsewhere I have set out in detail the typical events which precede a village break-up when the lineage splits after a man quarrels with his mother's younger sister's sons.[2] These splits are not always successful because the seniority of the older relative, especially if he is a headman of some standing, may serve to reunite the village, and the leader of the dissident group may be unable to maintain its independence. This is what happened in Mwambajila village.

Mwambajila is one of the more important village headmen in Jalasi's area. The tension between him and his mother's younger sister's son Mbwana Somu reached a climax after a series of deaths among Mbwana Somu's children. He consulted a diviner and found that Mwambajila was the sorcerer causing these deaths. Mbwana Somu was very angry at this and told his sisters that they ought to leave the village and go to live in Liwonde's area, i.e. about 15 miles away. Eventually he persuaded them to move and they went to live on the Masanje river banks. But the deaths continued. The women now started to be worried because they had left Mwambajila's village

[1] The implication of this cannot be understood without some knowledge of Yao divining procedure. The type of divining is usually by gourd and object (*ndumba*). The diviner first of all establishes the reason for the visit, i.e. death, illness, theft, or whatever it is. He then consults his gourd and throws into his hand a variety of symbolic objects. He builds a story round these objects, and finally pronounces that he sees some person whom he vaguely defines. The consultor is then asked to mention who this could be. Though sorcery is supposed to be practised mainly in order to get human flesh for ghoulish feasts, it is not believed to act haphazard. In other words, a sorcerer is supposed to select his victims for revenge as well as for meat. The selective processes at work, therefore, when the consultor seeks to reconcile the diviner's findings with his own suspicions, are that he should select someone who is obviously evil, i.e. from his point of view, one with whom he has been quarrelling, and he should appraise the possible motivation for sorcery. After he has made the selection the name is tested by the diviner and the consultor may later submit a chicken to the poison ordeal to test the diviner's findings.

This, of course, confirms Evans-Pritchard's analysis of Azande witchcraft and I here acknowledge my debt to him for stimulus both from his book and from the discussions we have had on the topic. I assume his analysis in my discussion. See Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1937).

[2] In *Seven Tribes*. Case History II, 321.

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578 and that he could not understand who could be inducing them to
593 talk like this. He told them also that as far as he was concerned they
621 could report the case to whomsoever they wished. The women came out of the hut and went straight to Pawesi who was the headman's younger brother. He told them to go back and to wait a while before they took further action.

578 After four days had passed the headman's sister who had fought
593 with the headman's wife, became ill. In the morning the sisters sent a message to Mponda but he did not come. They sent another
754 message to Pawesi who came and asked if they had told Mponda.
787 They said that they had, but he had refused to come. Pawesi called James and Ajusa, the sister's sons of the headman, and told them that he would tell the headman that they were going to find out the cause of the illness. This they did. The diviner indicated that the headman had caused the illness by sorcery, because of the fight between his wife and sisters. Pawesi tested the divination by giving a chicken some poison. It died, indicating that the divination was accurate. He took the chicken's head to Ngunga who was Mponda's perpetual mother's brother.

When Ngunga heard this he refused to believe it. However, he agreed to send for Mponda and to ask him about it. When he did so Mponda denied the accusation. Ngunga now produced the chicken's head and accused Mponda of being a liar. At that moment a child came to tell them that the woman was dead and the interview ended. They went to the funeral and the next morning they decided to have a post-mortem meeting (*mapeto*) in order to decide the cause of the death. Mitomoni, one of Nyambi's perpetual sons, represented the chief. Ngunga opened the discussion by telling the meeting that the woman had been killed by the headman because of the fight between his sisters and wife. Mitomoni asked how they knew this and Ngunga told of the divination and the poison ordeal. He then asked Mponda if he had heard what had been said and what he had to say. Mponda replied that he knew nothing of it. Ngunga said that Mponda was a bad man and that the others would leave him and he would have to live alone. Mitomoni told Pawesi and Ngunga that they must not leave the village. Ngunga replied that it was impossible to stay there while Mponda was so bad. If the women stayed with him he would finish them all. Pawesi collected 30 of the 40 huts that made up the village and took them away to Chikweo's area, a distance of about 15 miles. Those who stayed behind with Mponda were his 'children' and some unrelated people.

593 This case brings to the fore the position of the younger brother
578 as a constant challenge to his elder for the care of his sisters.

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Mwanace. He was the junior marriage surety to the marriage and it was his duty to go to the man's marriage surety, report the matter and arrange to take some action to get the man well again. Mwanace, however, refused to take any action. Instead he tauntingly said, 'Take the matter to Ali Kasunka, it is his village.' The woman did so, and Ali Kasunka asked immediately whether she had not taken the matter to Mwanace. She replied that she had and repeated Mwanace's words. Ali Kasunka took the matter up with Mwanace who now objected to being ordered about. Ali Kasunka, however, impressed on Mwanace that the village was his (Ali Kasunka's) and the authority rested with him. He then went to the man's home to tell them of Wayison's illness. The man's representative came and he and Ali Kasunka consulted a diviner. They found that the man was ill from *ndaka*, which he had contracted in his home village. They found medicine and treated him and he recovered.

Things came to a head in 1947. Mwanace's younger sister Nyangu II (D11) was married to a soldier who was away. One morning she came to her mother's elder sister, Mbalasyao (C1),[1] and told her that she had found semen on her pudenda and could not recall having had intercourse with anyone. Mbalasyao told Ali Kasunka about this. It was clearly a matter for divination and Ali Kasunka called Mwanace and told him that they ought to consult a diviner. But Mwanace's attitude, even in such a crisis as this, was hostile. He refused and said it was not his work to do this sort of thing. Ali Kasunka therefore went to a diviner with his sister Mbalasyao. The diviner said the semen was Mwanace's. He said that he had entered her hut magically and had sexual intercourse with her without her knowing it.[2] When Ali Kasunka got back to the village he called Mwanace and asked him what tricks he was playing in the village. Mwanace said that he had done nothing—it was not his village. Ali Kasunka then vaguely hinted at his crime. Mwanace pressed for more details and Ali Kasunka accused him outright of sleeping with his sister. He had hardly uttered the accusation before Mwanace had drawn a knife and attacked him. Mwanace was screaming something to the effect that Ali Kasunka had come to him with lies about having seen a diviner. Ali Kasunka beat off the attack and reiterated the accusation. Mwanace now turned his rage upon the woman and tried to catch her. Two of the men in the village then caught Mwanace and subdued

[1] Her mother, Amaliama, was dead.

[2] This is called *cigonecesya*. It combines the use of magic with sister-incest. To the Yao mind there could be no clearer proof of sorcery. I have already mentioned the importance of sister-incest in relationship to the beliefs surrounding the sorority-group. See p. 146.

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him. The woman in the meantime had run to Chiwalo's hut half a mile away. Here she complained to the chief that Mwanace wanted to kill her. Chiwalo refused to listen to her complaint and sent for Ali Kasunka. When he had come and explained the sequence of events, he continued saying that he would like to take the case to court. Chiwalo, who was Ali Kasunka's wife's father's sister's son (hence a classificatory younger brother) and whose henchman Ali Kasunka was, refused to arbitrate in the case but referred it to Kawinga. On the day of the case the woman's husband came back from the Army. The case was tried and eventually the court assessors awarded a damages claim of £3 to be paid by Mwanace to his sister. The husband, at the same time, said that he could not remain married to her because whenever he saw her he would think that she had slept with her brother and in court he gave Ali Kasunka a marriage termination payment. The tension between Ali Kasunka and his 'sister's son' did not end there however. When they got back to the village Ali Kasunka remonstrated with Mwanace saying, 'Are you not ashamed to have married your sister?' Mwanace said that he could not stand that sort of thing and went back to live uxorilocally.

A crucial point in this case history is that the women did not like Mwanace. Almost certainly there would have been a split in the village had the women had more confidence in Mwanace. The tension between Ali Kasunka and Mwanace, although the conflict is inter-generational, started, as it consistently does, from the relationships of a man to the women of his matrilineage. Without the support of the women, younger brothers or sister's sons are impotent against the power of their senior relatives. It is only when they can induce the women to follow them and to leave their rivals that they can found a new village and thereby begin to earn prestige. Therefore, although the men are the active agents in bringing about a physical act of fission, they are in fact only making manifest a situation which is latent within the lineage.

The position of the senior male matrilineal relative is of fundamental importance in questions involving segmentation. His position is seen most clearly in the dominant matrilineage, in which the name of the village is inherited. The Yao practise 'positional succession'. A man not only succeeds to his mother's brother's name but also to the position of the mother's brother in the social structure as a whole.[1] It follows that when the

[1] See Chap. V, p. 121.

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754 A *masuzi* may be met with under different circumstances. An educated native told me of his experience one night when riding a bicycle back to a township where he was employed. Coming along a smooth-hoed path with his lamp alight, he became aware of the presence of something in the bush in front and at the side of him. Suddenly his lamp was smashed and he was left in darkness, while something pushed him over so hard that he fell off his cycle. Picking himself up, he started to wheel his cycle on, when there appeared on the path in front, figures who, rubbing their hands together to produce a phosphorescent glow, held them up in front of the boy's face. He was, however, not molested further, and coming to a group of huts he knew, he went in and made inquiries as to the cause of his experiences and was promptly told that there was a man living in a hut near the spot on the path where they had occurred who was supposed to be *masuzi*. Such a story is given for what it is worth. The boy was about twenty-two years old, a highly educated native with an intelligent appreciation of the worth of superstition.

Some *wasuzi* demonstrations can have no object but to strike terror and keep up the prestige of the *masuzi* class. Mr. Moggridge wrote me, "A boy of mine was certainly attacked and squeezed about the neck by a man whom he described as naked, huge, and slightly luminous, on the road at the back of my house in Blantyre. The boy was strolling up and down in the dusk and had nothing about him to provoke robbery; he was almost choked before he managed to let out a yell which determined his assailant to let him go. He was not a local boy and no theory of personal spite was supportable. I thought and still think that the motive was to show that even the Resident's servant twenty yards from the Resident's house was not safe from *wasuzi*." It seems possible that some natives with intent to rob had pretended to be *wasuzi* but recognising that their victim was likely to cause trouble, they went no further.

[824] It is said that the phosphorescence is produced by rubbing in the hands two vegetable substances from local trees and that this is the method the *wasuzi* adopt to announce their presence.

754 **Poison Ordeal.** As I have said above, when anyone sickens or dies, the illness or death
·695 is likely to be considered the work of some one who is *masuzi*, and action will be taken by the relatives to find him out. The proceedings in such a case where witchcraft is suspected will now be briefly sketched; though I give an account of a case from beginning to end as if it occurred at the present time, it must be understood that the giving of *wuavi*, the ordeal poison, is now much less common than formerly. A man becomes ill in some village and does not get better, so the caster-of-lots is consulted. The sick man's relatives or friends go to the
● [787] lot-caster and approach the subject indirectly by asking him his advice about a number of imaginary cases; they may say, "Things have been stolen from our house." The lots are cast and the caster replies, "No, you have not come to see me about that." This may go on for hours before the facts of the case proper are mentioned to him. Finally, they tell him that one of their relatives is ill in the village, the lots are consulted and advice is given

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and sitting within the circle, he blew his whistle which was irresistible to the *mwesi* man who was then induced to come out of his house. When he had reached the grave, the water was sprinkled over him by the *jumakotela* with the millet stalk from the dish on the grave, or he was struck with the gnu's tail; in either case, he fell to the ground senseless. He was then ready to be dealt with. The *sekotela* sticks, small bamboos filled with crocodile poison, were pushed up the anus and broken off to liberate the poison. Sticks might also be inserted behind the ear or in various other spots. The *mwesi* was then beaten to wake him up; he ran off to his own village and there, a little later, he sickened and died, telling no one the cause. After death, the *ausilo* when preparing the corpse of the hitherto unsuspected *mwesi*, might find the end of the stick projecting from the anus or see the punctures elsewhere with the medicine adhering to them, and the man was revealed in his true colors.

At Mtwiche's village, there was a man called Liunga who professed to be able to extract the poison injected by the *jumakotela* by causing his patients to undergo a vapor bath and to drink certain decoctions. This man would never reveal the name of anyone who came to him for treatment but would brag that "trade was brisk." The symptoms of the mortal malady caused by the *sekotela* are said to be intestinal obstruction with tremendous distention of the abdomen (peritonitis).

Of this same village, a story is told which, if not true, at all events illustrates the sort of thing that is believed. As has been mentioned above, whenever the *jumakotela* blows his little horn, any *wasowi* will hear it and thinking it is one of their band calling, will go to meet him. A woman of this village told how she and her husband were sitting over the fire while the evening meal was cooking, when he suddenly jumped up and said he must go outside for a bit. She remonstrated and asked him to wait for his food, but he hurried off. Later he returned, complaining of feeling very ill; his belly swelled up and he died soon after. It was said that this man was very friendly with a woman named Abibi and that when he went out into the bush, he was heard calling in a low voice, "Is that you, Abibi?" When his body was examined, two punctures were found on the left side of the chest. It was supposed that it was Abibi he expected to meet and with her enjoy a cannibalistic repast, whereas it was a *jumakotela* who had called and killed him.

This brief outline of a case of sickness, suspicion of witchcraft, death, and the consultation with the caster-of-lots, the witch-finder, ordeal poison, death, and the catching of the cannibal witch, has been given as a more or less consecutive story in order that it may be most easily understood. Some further details concerning the lot-caster, witchcraft, etc., must be added.

Lot-casting. Medicine men who cast lots were at one time fairly plentiful and were consulted on many matters, often of small importance from a European point of view. Chief of all were questions of witchcraft. The *modus operandi* varied in different cases. In *wasowi* and other important matters, the medicine man always used the *chisungo* (divining in-

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787 strument). These were of various types but the most usual was made of a gourd, *ekhumbe*, called *ukumbe*,[1] containing a number of small articles, each of which had some special name and if it appeared in the casting, a special significance. Among these articles are:

(a) *Ashikalakala;* small pieces of broken white earthen-ware. These have the significance of whiteness, cleanness, innocence, or answers in the negative to questions as to any particular person having done some action.

(b) *Chisumaapeje;* the body of one of those beetles which feign death. This indicates death in answer to the question asked. *Chisumaapeje* is the name of the beetle.

(c) *Upasa;* a small piece of a sleeping-mat, signifying illness.

(d) *Livala;* a small piece of stick or grass.

(e) Or *Mavala* the plural; little pieces of stick, said to indicate that the people have previously consulted some other diviner, whose findings are called for by the man who is then casting lots.

(f) *Mavapa;* the horn. For convenience the small horn of a guapi is used. It indicates witchcraft, referring to the fact that witches like medicine men are supposed to keep their medicines in horns.

(g) *Npolaka;* the coiled tendril of a vine, indicating a dispute, etc.

The lots are cast, and according to the disposition of the various articles, an interpretation is given in answer to the question put to the instrument.

Chipendo (plur. *ipendo*) is the word used in referring to instruments used for divination in minor cases and several of these are usually included in a diviner's kit. They may be called *chisango*.

1. A small heap of flour or ashes is raised and any article, such as a knife or a piece of stick is flipped towards it; interpretation is based on the direction taken by the article flipped.

2. A small tortoise shell filled with medicine propelled by a feather stuck in one end is similarly used, and is called *chisango cha upapa*;[2]

3. A horn and feather may be used in the same way.

4. The stuffed skin of a weasel, *chindiuli* (*likupue*, Chin.) is also used, in the same way as *pilipili*, the squirrel.[3]

On February 4, 1914 at Zomba I witnessed Chisuganiye of Chapita village, a Mangaja man, use a small outfit for divining, consisting of: (1) A small orifid horn in a gourd with pieces of stick (Pl. XVI, figs. 3, 5); (2) a piece of bamboo matting with a horn fixed on each end of the strip called *chisango cha upapa* (Pl. XVI, fig. 2); (3) medicine in a gourd (Pl. XVI, fig. 1); (4) a rattle (Pl. XVI, fig. 4). He commenced by taking these things out of his bag and dusting them by rubbing in his hands. The gourd cup was cleaned out with his finger and spit into. The horn was spit upon, rubbed in the hands, and anointed with

[1] Stanmus, 'Notes on some natives of British Central Africa,' Pl. XXVII, fig. 6.
[2] Ibid., Pl. XXVI, fig. 2. [3] Ibid., p. 304 and Pl. XXVI, fig. 8.

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medicine from the ground by means of a stick; then placed at the forehead, point forwards, held for a second at each armpit, and finally rubbed over in the hands again. The cup was similarly manipulated, especially the edge, and rubbed in the hands, as were the horns on the *cho ngoma*. All this was done with great precision and evidently in definite order, each article being laid on the ground in turn, and the string of matting rolled up. Four pieces of reed of a size that would lie over the mouth of the gourd cup overlapping the edges about an inch were then selected from among others and set ready on the ground. The rattle was treated with medicine from the same gourd. The horn was placed in the gourd by the operator, point upwards and lying towards himself, as he held the gourd by its body in the palm of his left hand, the handle towards him. Shaking the rattle in the right hand, he constantly muttered to the *chinanga* "to tell him truly," "to answer his questions," and so on. By slight movements of his left arm which were well disguised but quite easily perceptible to the watcher, he could make the horn assume the erect position in the gourd and then fall backwards or forwards or to either side. The first position indicates "all is well," "nothing need be done"; the second means "there is trouble," "some one is talking at the village," "there is a case to be settled." These answer questions put to it by the owner who is being consulted about some case of illness, etc.

Another method of divining is with the horn in position as before mentioned and the four pieces of stick set across the mouth of the gourd touching one another, the ends projecting at the sides. The operator is able to make the horn appear to force off all the sticks without moving the gourd, or he can make any number of the sticks tumble into the gourd, and repeat the performance. If they fall off, it means a good day to go on a journey; if they fall in, the journey should be postponed.

The *chinanga cho ngoma* is held similarly in the left hand by the middle so that two wings are formed, each with the weight of a horn at the end. The outer-of-lots is able by almost imperceptible movements to make the two wings open and fall away from each other or swing together, and together partly roll up. When they fall apart wide open, it is an indication that all will be well; when they close, death may be expected. The gourd and horn and this *chinanga cho ngoma* form a pair which are called female and male.

Chipanda cha mbingu: *mbingu* is a word relating to omens in regard to journeys. Thom Chenuga told me that he remembers as a boy, when his father was going on a journey, he would take some pieces of root, moisten them in his mouth, and stick them on the wall of the hut. These pieces of root were daily watched by Thom's mother, as unaided they gradually took up a position lower and lower on the wall until they reached the ground. Then she knew that her husband had safely reached his destination.

Ngoma may be told in yet another way, *chinanga cha kusamba* (*ku-samba*, to speak). *N'ganga* is put in an empty house and the medicine man and his clients sit outside. The medicine man is asked some question which he puts to the *n'ganga* which then answers like an oracle. I have never seen this done but my native informants tell me the voice that

3:Stanonus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

spoke is invariably used in character and Chinyanja is the language always used. It is doubtless a case of what we should call ventriloquism. The custom is evidently of Mang'anja origin but in great favor with the Yao.

Divination also plays an important part in tracing thieves or stolen property or in picking out from a number of people anyone guilty of some crime. Several modes of procedure may be adopted. The *chisungu* called *nduwala* may be used as the *chisungu cha chijeta* (*chijeta*, a kind of basket). Medicine in the form of certain roots is placed on the ground and covered by the inverted basket on which is placed the *nduwala*. Each person in turn is requested to lift the basket and the guilty one is at once revealed by his inability to budge the basket off the ground. This method may even be used to reveal a man guilty of sorcery.

Other methods of divination include a kind of trial by ordeal somewhat similar to a boiling water ordeal. *Kuwendula* (from *ku-wendula*, to tramp round, referring to the peregrinations made in search of what is lost, or *wawendula*, the Chinyanja word from *ku-londa*, to follow on the footsteps of) is the name of the witch-doctor who searches for stolen property or traces the thief. The same man may be called *mubwendula* in Chinyanja (from *ku-wendula*, to reveal) when he uses his instrument to detect in a crowd the person guilty of some crime. The *kuwendula* uses the horn of a kudu stuffed with appropriate medicine, the actual *mise en scène* and methods adopted varying somewhat with different practitioners. The practice I believe to be a Mang'anja one and I think most of the operators were Anyanja men and not Yao, though the Yao, as with other customs, adopted the system fully. In my district, the *kuwendula* was usually armed with a rattle; when the horn indicated the guilty individual, he intimated the fact to the assembled crowd by throwing flour over him.

When a search is to be made for stolen property, the horn is put into the hands of four men, alternate men pressing down and pulling up on the long horn, while the medicine man stands by, operating his rattle and exhorting the horn to do its work of revelation. I know a man who has on several occasions assisted in holding the horn; he said it simply seemed to drag him on in a series of jerky movements, sometimes going very fast, at other times moving slowly, dragging the holders " along the footsteps of the thief with the stolen goods " in and out of the house, through the bush, and across streams, until suddenly the horn dropped from their hands to the ground, where on digging, the stolen goods were found buried. (Cf. table turning, planchette, etc.)

A good description of *kuwendula* under the headings *mubwendula* and *wawendula* is given by Garbutt,[1] who describes the Mang'anja operators. In this same article, he makes the mistake of describing as *mubwindula*, the *fumebutula*. As I have stated above, the *fumebutula* is an order of medicine men who trap the man who is an *mwiri* while in the *mwiri* state, but the *mbindula* points him out while he appears as an ordinary man of the village.

[1] H. W. Garbutt, " Native customs in Nyasa," (*Man*, London, 1910, vol. 10, p. 33-40).

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Witch-medicine. The making of medicine against people has been shown to occupy an essential place in *usoni*, and it plays an important part in all conditions. So by immediate grades, the ordinary use of drugs in common diseases is reached, though it is probable that very much greater faith is placed in a packet of burnt roots put under the floor of the house than in the efficacy of any concoction taken by mouth.

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There is a general belief that by medicine extra ability verging into supernatural power can be acquired. This power in a general sense is represented by the word *nkowa* and a man so possessed is spoken of as *munda fua kumala*. The desire for increased power may be a perfectly natural one, such as a desire for influence and popularity as a *chief*, or on the other hand, the power of *usoni* may be aimed at, or again, the knowledge of magic medicine for thieving or for any other practice. *Ukowa* is, therefore, a relative matter. The necessary medicine or initiation into the understanding of magic can be purchased from persons already practitioners, the honest herbalist merging by imperceptible degrees into the most criminal witch-doctor. A single practitioner may prescribe a charcoal dressing for an ulcer, exorcise an evil spirit by a vapor bath, sell medicine to enable the buyer to win a case at court, arrange medicine on a pathway to act as a selective love potion, or prescribe a drug to change a man into a lion.

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Deserving of special mention are the people who thieve by the aid of medicine which they have either purchased or prepared themselves. Such a man is called *chitoke* and the medicine *mtoke wa chitoke*. The active principle of this medicine is said to be prepared from the tail of a hyaena, an animal which is said to be able to enter a house where people are sleeping and kill and carry off the fowls without waking the occupants. The medicine is often carried in a hyaena's tail. The *chitoke* is supposed to approach the house he would rob and chewing some medicine in the mouth, gently blow towards it to put everyone to sleep. The door is supposed to unfasten itself and the thief is free to take what he wishes. He is even said to kill, cook, and eat food in the house while the inmates remain unconscious. A special characteristic of the *chitoke* is that whatever he lays his hands on in the house he must remove, though he does not want it, so that in the morning many unwieldy, useless objects may be found outside the hut.

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There are many other magic medicines. One of these, *kwanga*, if introduced into a village, will cause the illness and death of some inmate. Anyone handling the body of the sick man or the corpse after death, sickens and dies until the whole village is wiped out. There is a man serving a life sentence now at the Central Prison, Zomba, who was convicted of having caused the death of many people in a village in Angoniland. He is said cheerfully to have admitted the power of his medicine.

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Medicine made from a cousin is supposed to be efficacious in various ways. The blood of a cousin is instilled into the ear for otorrhoea. Drinking the water which has been used by a cousin to wash his face relieves intestinal colic. Medicine is made from the hairs of the beard of a cousin or from an adult and used for chest trouble.

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3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

19. That portion of the gut of animals having folds of mucous membrane inside, may be eaten only by old people past the child-propagating age. If a young woman should eat it, she would have difficulty in labor.

20. It is believed that people who eat too freely of a little fish like whitebait called *matemba* get obstruction of the bowel by the wedging together of the bones. The treatment adopted is to pass up the rectum a smooth stick with a pad of rag at the end. This cannot be done by the person himself and so the aid of another has to be called in; only an intimacy, such as the relationship of brother-in-law gives, will warrant this service being asked.

21. The Yao believe that there is a little insect which lives in the ear, called *chisyene lipilumlo*, which tells the person what is said to him, the wax in the ear being its environment. The pupil is called *mwanache jwa lisu*, the child of the eye.

22. Among women, the uterus is called *nawaw* (*nuso* = eyes); it is supposed to be a little person who holds the foetus. When the child is born, *nawaw* cannot find it and starts looking about, the movements causing the afterpains.

23. A man making his first journey to the coast used to sprinkle himself with water from every stream he crossed to give him a safe journey. In the same way, women at the present day going between Zomba and Blantyre sprinkle their babies with water from each stream.

24. An ant-like insect called *nkupetumbo* (*lumbutumbo*, Chin.) [*despicable euphemistic*] is lucky. On seeing it a native pats its belly and then rubs his own, wishing for plenty of food that day. If he is embarking on a journey or beginning some enterprise, he will wrap one of these insects in a fold of his loin cloth and take it with him for luck.

25. When a native hears the *mwipe* bird call (its call is like the *mew* of a cat), if he wants something, he immediately says, "Oh *mwipe*, I want so-and-so. Be quiet and I will then be quiet, too!" If the bird ceases calling, he knows the wish will be granted. The female bird is said to be the more certain prophet.

26. The snake, *nahukutuli*, which lives in trees and is of a half clay color with green markings, is said by natives to pierce the chest and tie a knot in itself on each side so that it can only be withdrawn by cutting off one knot. When the snake is thus withdrawn, its blood mixes with that of the man and he will die.

27. Natives have a habit of marking the spot where any event takes place by a stone by the side of the path, and every passer-by will add a stone for luck. In this way some large piles of stones have been made.

28. A man resting on his way home from a long journey places a stone in the fork between the branches of a nearby tree, so that on his arrival he may find his wife has put by some food for him and has not used up the day's stock of flour.

29. A chameleon found digging in the path is said to presage the death of the finder's nearest relative.

3: Stanner D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

30. If a chameleon is found holding on to the grass at both sides of the path, the path is "closed" and a man will turn back to his home and not proceed on his journey. It would be unlucky to continue.

31. Snakes seen in webs are a bad omen.

32. The slow-worm known as *kitumbula mangala* ("the cutter open of ant hills"), and the scaly anteater, if seen on the path, are of bad import.

33. To knock the toes against a stone on a journey is bad luck; if blood flows from the big toe, it points to good luck.

34. A man knocking the sole of his foot against a stone knows that some one is speaking ill of him.

35. A person whose hands itch knows he will receive a present.

36. Tremor of the circumorbital muscles of the right eye indicates that something good will be seen. When the left eye is affected, the outcome is less sure.

37. The cry of the bird *ngulubulu* (the green turaco), indicates to the hearer that he is about to meet some one, either friend or enemy.

38. Anyone who kills one of the large stick-insects (*Phasmidae*) knows as *chikuse chikuju*, will always be breaking the cooking pots afterwards.

39. The natives believe that the caterpillar of the *Hippotion osiris* moth will jump at the breast. It is called *chisumbila mumolo*, "that which jumps at the breasts," and children seeing it will cover up their nipples with their hands.

40. Of *Linulo*, the Mongoose, there is a saying:

[539] "*Linulo ngwalolangwa nikiki*"
"The banded mongooses relieve each other (at) the mound"

It is said that mongooses assist one another when being hunted. When one is tired, a fresh one runs in so close to the pursuer that he goes after this one and leaves the tired one, and so they keep it up till the pursuer is exhausted.

41. *Chiula*, the frog. Children are told they must never kill a frog, or its spirit will come at night with partridge meals of excrement and make them eat it. If a small child playing with a frog kills it by mischance, he will tear off a small piece of his native cloth and place it by the frog as an offering.

42. *Chindindi* (*Ikimpwe*, Chin.) the weasel. It is said that the weasel hides its body and leaves exposed its anus, so that a chicken seeing it, goes up to peck at it, whereupon the weasel turns round quickly and catches the chicken with its mouth.

43. *Chingwe*, the shrink (from *ku-nga*, to go to steal), so named on account of its noise, is said to apply the anus to a rat-hole and make wind. This will render insensible all the rats in the burrow and he can then dig them out at leisure.

44. *Mbuli*, the honey badger, when hunted is always said to attack a man by attempting to seize the testicles. Natives when they hunt this animal, tie stones in their loin cloths so that they hang down between the legs to defeat the badger.

769 A man leaving his village on some expedition and wishing to be assured of safe conduct
484 will procure some millet flour. Going quietly into his house, he squats down in one corner
●787 and gently sifts the flour through his hand so that it falls on the floor in the form of a little
cone, repeating as he does so, his prayer for safe conduct beginning and ending with the
word *chende!* please!

[539] "*Chende! chende!* *wa-ku-mulungu* *ambuje* *mlungwaye* *nsono* *gunga* *silimo*
"Please, please! those at above ancestor clear eyes mine that I may see
linde, *ngenike* *'chenene* *kunguja,* *chende! chende! chenembile!*"
the path, may I arrive well where I go, please, please, please!"

He then covers the cone of flour with a basket. On the morrow, he will uncover it to see what has happened. According as the cone has remained intact or has fallen to one side or the other, the omen indicates whether or not the journey should be undertaken, the reaction being caused by the spirits to whom his supplication was addressed.

✓769 Again, there may have occurred much sickness in a village and the people conclude that the pest has come to remind them that they have not been attentive to their deceased chief. "His grave-house in the village has been allowed to fall into decay," and so on. They will decide that his spirit must be propitiated. The grave-house is rebuilt, a pot is sunk in the ground, and beer is poured in, and round about heaps of flour are placed. Prayer is made to the chief at whose grave they are worshipping, supplicating him in person and "all others who are with you at *Mlungu*," asking that he will no longer cause ill to befall the village.

When a village is moved, the beer-pot from the grave of the old chief is taken to the new village and a ceremony similar to that just described takes place, with the prayer that he will come to the new village and continue to exercise his benevolent care over its people.

✓731 In 1890 when there was a threatened famine on account of long drought in Ecumbe district, Malemya decided that supplication for rain must be made to the spirits of his illustri-
769 ous predecessors. Kasunga, one of Malemya's wise men, acted as high priest. A large amount of beer was brewed and the night before the ceremony, twenty sheep and fifty goats were slaughtered. Plates of the meat, of rice and porridge were then placed on the ground round the grave-house of the old Malemya, and pots of beer set into the ground at intervals. At the head of the grave, little heaps of *mbepesi* flour were arranged. This flour had been prepared by such of Malemya's wives as were not near a menstrual period. The following morning, a fence was built round the grave, outside which all the people collected, while beyond them again was a second fence. Kasunga, accompanied by an assistant then appeared, and amid absolute silence entered the inner enclosure. He addressed to the old Malemya, at whose grave they were all assembled, a prayer for rain. He then repeated the prayer, invoking the aid of all the past line of chiefs down to the reigning Malemya, re-
[514] peating their names. Returning to the outer enclosure, he again uttered the prayers, all the assembled multitude repeating them after him while lying face down, resting on their

3:Stanner D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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be supposed to live in such trees. They are convenient natural objects for them to occupy, in fact practically the only ones to be found in villages. Trees may accordingly, therefore, be looked upon as in some degree sacred. About such trees strings or pieces of calico may be placed as an offering to the spirits of the departed. But the Yao do not erect little huts in their vicinity, hung about with strips of calico as is the custom among the Anyanja.

775 Macdonald[1] mentions the spirits in connection with Soche and other hills round Blantyre and supposes them to be the spirits of the places themselves. This I think is unlikely; they would probably turn out to be spirits bearing the names of long departed Anyanja chiefs whom the immigrant Amangoche Yao venerated just "to be on the safe side," since they had come and taken the country which long ago belonged to the former tribe. When approaching or passing any spot held to be the dwelling place of spirits, salutation is made by clapping the hands.

Spirits of the departed may enter into animals or may take the form of animals, commonly lizzs and sometimes large snakes (pythos), but this *belief* is not so general among the Yao as among other tribes, in my opinion. An animal which is so possessed is called *liapoko*, from *ku-apoka*, "to be transformed."

[774] Apart from this habitation of inanimate objects above mentioned by nainos, there is nothing that points to a belief in Animism among the Yao, so far as I know. Neither hills, rocks, streams, lakes, nor trees have their own spirits, nor are they endowed by the native mind with life.

Deceased persons appear to the living in dreams, the native apparently believing that the deceased appears in his material body.

775 787 791 They believe also in revelation of wishes of the deceased through the medium of the living. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to enter into the medium. The medium, I am informed, is always a woman, never a man. From the descriptions of some of these revelation séances, there can be no doubt that they are manifestations of *la grande hystérie*. The medium works herself up into a frenzy of excitement and in her delirium gives out the name of the deceased, the voice which speaks being that of the spirit within her. She rolls on the ground and foams at the mouth, uttering the word of revelation which is generally to the effect that some deceased chief's spirit is feeling aggrieved at the neglect of his tomb; the voice may go on to say that certain practices are forbidden, or demand that certain rites be observed by the people. The spirits which possess her are generally spoken of as *mazuka*, a word which, though sometimes used as equivalent to *nainos*, usually seems to [158] have rather a sinister significance. Insane persons are called *mazuka* and are thought to be possessed by a spirit, and vague baths with exorcisms may be practised for their cure. In the case of the death of anyone who is possessed, in answer to my interrogation, I have [761] been told that both the spirit which has entered into the man and his own nainos leave his body.

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 58.

3: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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1-6, Dyeing's kit; 8-10, Mats; 11-16, Baskets

[Ed Plate 16]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. XL, 1910, Plate XXVII.

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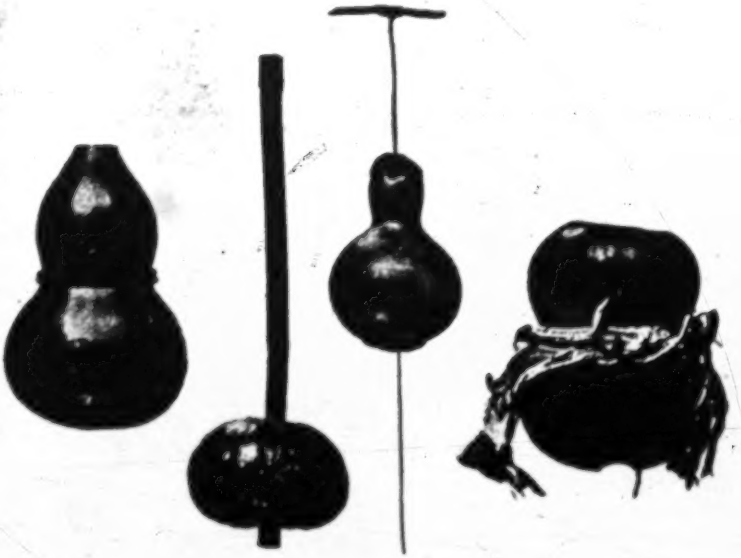

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SOME TRIBES OF BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

[p. 334(B)]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FRY

and the feature of it was the introduction of life-size representations of animals made of bamboo and grass with men inside.

I once saw these at a *namwali* ceremony among the Awisa (*q.v.*).

12. *Nkole.*—Woman only present; danced on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation.

13. *Litiwa.*—Women only, on the occasion of the quickening with first child.

14. *Njwala.*—Men and women, a quick shuffling step while standing in a circle.

15. *Sukuaa.*—The body shaking (shoulders) dance of boys, they walk round in a ring, some fifty of them, the drums in the middle; when the bass drum breaks into a quicker time they all start shaking shoulders and bodies with intervals for two or three steps.

16. *Nsenja.*—Danced in a circle, men and women alternately.

17. *Nkonde.*—A big dance with *sanji* rattles.

18. *Chibonda.*—Dancing boys dance.

19. *Mberuaa.*—(1907) men and women; each carries a bango reed filled with pebbles—no drums.

20. *Mangonji.*—A coast dance; palm leaf bags filled with pebbles are tied on the legs.

21. *Sanja.*—A *pas-de-deux*, each man with a rattle and head-dress; for a few moments they wander round each other picking up the time and tune, and then jump into a very fast step dancing and jumping into the air shaking the rattles.

22. *Chimwimwini.*—A *pas-seul* by a man carrying a viol and bow with anklets of small sticks.

23. *Mauwe.*—Danced no longer. At Mponda's village a big crowd used to dance with skins round the loins and wooden anklets: in their hands they carried live snakes which had been rendered harmless by putting medicine over their holes before digging them out. Four drums as in *chindimba* were used. The women all fled away.

Description of Plates.

PLATE XXVI.

1. Iron tube with human hair.
2. Tortoise-shell containing "medicine."
3. Leaf packet of "medicine."
4. Tortoise-shell.
5. Iron knife.
6. Horn containing "medicine."
7. Seed rattle.
8. Bead amulet.
9. Stuffed squirrel skin.

1-9. Contents of the bag of an *Ula*-man.

PLATE XXVII.

1. Gourd vessel, Yao.
2. Gourd rattle, Yao.
3. Divining-gourd.
4. Gourd for casting lots.
5. Malanja.
6. Amachinga.
7. Awisa.

7: Hetherwick M-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FT7 Yao FT7

they said, "was about to take away their shadows and they would die." In their mind the *liselo* was allied to the *chiwilili* or picture, and the removal of it to the photographic plate would mean the disease or death of the shadeless body.

As an instance of their faith in the close relationship of the *liselo* and the picture or shadow, I may relate the following incident. An influential Yao chief on Mount Zomba with whom I was on terms of intimate friendship for years, refused to allow himself to be photographed, fearing the consequences on his life. At last I was able to persuade him to give me a sitting, but on the sole condition that the picture was to be shown to none of his subjects but to be sent out of the country as soon as possible. He feared lest some ill-wisher might use it as a means towards his bewitchment. Some months afterwards the chief became seriously ill, and in the minds of his attendants his illness was attributed to some accident having befallen the photographic plate on which they believed the picture of their chief to be imprinted. If that negative had been broken in England, whither it had been sent, their chief's illness would be accounted for. Accordingly they appealed to the divining oracle, who, however, after consulting the "lots," assured them that the picture was intact, and that in consequence the disease must be ascribed to some other cause.

The *liselo* or soul is recognized as the chief agency in dreams. To dream is, in the Yao tongue, *kwanyamila masolo*, where *masolo* is the plural form of *liselo*. The *liselo* is supposed to go out and visit the scenes and persons it dreams about, and in turn is visited by the *masolo* of others, dead or living. Pains in the body on rising from sleep in the morning are usually attributed to such nocturnal visits, while disease or pains of a severe type are ascribed to castigations by the whips of the *masolo* or more frequently of the witches who prowl around during the night watches.

Madness, idiocy and the ravings of delirium or disease are accounted for by a similar agency. The sufferers are *wa masolo*, they of the spirits, and a sudden fit of epilepsy or insanity is described as *gakamwile masolo*, the spirits have seized him. Such persons are usually regarded with awe, as living in close contact with the unseen, but no incantations or enchantments are ever used to expel the spirit in possession. Some native doctors are credited with a knowledge of certain medicines which they say are effectual in such cases, but their application in no way differs from those employed in treating ordinary types of disease. Idiots and the insane are allowed to wander at will about the village, and only when violent symptoms show themselves as a danger to the community is any physical restraint put upon them.

The *masolo* are also recognized as the inspiring agencies in the ravings of the witch detective. This person, usually a woman, is called in to discover who is the guilty agent in cases of mysterious deaths or outbreak of an epidemic at a village. She arrives on the scene and takes up her abode for a few days previous to her actual demonstration. She mixes with the people, learns all the scandal and gossip of the community, and at night prowls about the houses searching for

7: Hetherwick M-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FT7 Yao FT7

evidence. On the appointed day she dances, *kuyina masoka*, to dance the spirits, or *kuswesela*, to rave or prophecy, and in the ravings of the dance she calls out the name of some party who is afterwards accused of being the *mauci* or witch. Followed by a crowd of excited spectators she dances through the village spear in hand, stopping here and there to dig up charms or medicines which the supposed witch has buried in the ground as the instruments of his occult practices. It is only in cases of supposed special difficulty, or when the magnitude of the supposed crimes demands that special measures be adopted for their detection, that the services of such a witch detective are called in. In ordinary cases these appeals are made to the divining oracle who consults his "lota" as a means of discovering crimes of this nature.

Among the Yaos the human being is believed to be the sole possessor of a *liuka*. I have been unable to discover any trace of a theory that the *liuka* may pass into any animal or inanimate object and thus confer upon it the nature or power of a fetish. Such belief is cherished among the Angoni and Achowa tribes to the westward by Nyasa and the upper Shire River, and the intelligent Yao is aware of this, but he states that among his people no such belief exists. Even charms which have the effect of healing or warding off disease, or of protecting the wearer from war or wild beasts or other danger by land or water, are supposed to possess this power without any idea of their being possessed by a *liuka* or other spirit influence. The nearest approach to such a theory is in the case of certain powerful "doctors" who have obtained special medicine by means of which, at death, they can transform themselves into lions, leopards, crocodiles, etc. Lepers also are sometimes supposed to become hippopotami. But both of these cases must be regarded rather as transmutations of body than transmigrations of soul.

It will be thus seen that the nature of the human *liuka* is closely allied to that of the *masoka*, which are the inspiring agents in madness and in the ecstasy of prophecy or incantation. What the origin of these inspiring *masoka* is, or to whom they belonged when in bodily life, the Yao holds no theory. He is content to accept them as they are, *masoka iyopo*, "Just *masoka* and nothing more," as he says.

It is, however, when we follow the disembodied *liuka* after death and consider its position and power in the other world that we find ourselves in a region of higher spiritual activities.

In dreams or in fainting fits the *liuka* leaves the body but only to return to it with the awakening consciousness. At death, however, it leaves its earthly abode never to return. It is now spoken of as having gone to *mulungu* or *mlungu*. This word, which lies at the basis of all Yao theo[illegible] of the place of the soul after death, will be dealt with later on as regards its derivation and connections in the Bantu family of languages. In its actual use it bears two significations.

I. The word *mulungu* is in the first instance applied to the human soul or *liuka* after death when it is considered as an inhabitant of the spirit world. Even in life a man, when he meets with any piece of good luck, will be heard to say, "It's my *mulungu*," as if his soul had an influence in determining the character of his